1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Tăl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimɣkwɪt*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River.

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sătlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[13] Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(29) *Qankilst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it.

*(30)[14] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted.

[13] Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[14] Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time.

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361 (31) *Ḵxdis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuk*ᵂ River. [226] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuk*ᵂ when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuk*ᵂ*:* on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuk*ᵂ River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Tāl·io:* on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. [133] The location of this village was constantly changed, owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Ṯqwantłos*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuk*ᵂ.

*(34) *Às·u*ᵂ, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper [487] end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Às·u*ᵂ was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Ḵwapx:* on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nulɔl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslmx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwɔlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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* 776 773 [821] is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *ɯlexwan·i* especially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 821 177 [731] Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'ätł*, the supernatural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow. The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Ałmɒnskällwaiyaix* or *Ałmɒnskitłnɒm*. They have been seen occasionally, and are [575] shown, as masked figures, at *ɯsaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotła*, a friend and [575] associate of *Ałquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Ťläqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Ałquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotła* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Ałquntäm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Ťläqmä·ks* has been [777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A
watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[297] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number
of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early
in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village utter-
ing their war cry 'wai!' They took a stand at the fire which burns
in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in
taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children
along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt,
and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had
taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole.
When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each
canoe and swang the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all
sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were
valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the
Sisan'kH.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them,
took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of
the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned
home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the
Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the
mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent
two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the
village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses
and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they
were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives,
lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women,
leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge
for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt
the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mH were attacked by the
Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lkH, but the raven,
according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the
village of Nuqa'lkH. They came in many canoes, while most of the
Talio'mH were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing.
Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and
women had also remained at home. The father of Nusk'slu'sta, who told
me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by
his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which
consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each
corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower.
Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy
while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mH had only
four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the
village was well fortified. The Talio'mH had seen the canoes coming and
were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be
able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 575 ceremonial, and sometimes in 'the kn'siut. The following song belongs to his mask and dance:—

[539] Nanemō'tstauit ti q'ōyaki'mtst'aix·. Nō'noq'awēxum ts'ɛn t'ayōɬɛlat'aix· ayati smanō's ti sōnx· t'aix·, wā, nān, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 821 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti Sōnx· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Aɬk·x·ē'ɬɛɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānɬ t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Aɬqōɬ ti Mānɬ t'aix· ("the painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

[731] [753]

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'aɬ-walō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasala'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kŏ'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [539]

Ā'mats tā mnatsaĭ' tō·xts ti sō'nx·tsgi t'aix.
Aĭē·ɬx tā mnatsaĭ' ōɬ ti S'aɬwalō'sxms ti Sōnx· t'aix.
Sk·a ya'lx·tux ti sĭ'lxnō tā mnatsaĭ'.
Sk·a anōg·a wą̄ ɛxɛmē'x ti K'awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsaĭ.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'aɬwalō'sxm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nĕkŏ'ŏɬ, or Qɛnk·i'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Aɬɛp!alaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik·pstak·imtōɬs," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sɛ́ɬsɑ̄ts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kŏ'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kŏɬk·ɬɔ́ɬɛ'mx·). It is called Asiutā'nɛm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]